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195 missing elements as they go along. This characteristic accounts for the reason why a passage written in literary Chinese, when read aloud, can seldom be fully understood by a listener even though he may speak the dialect of the person reading.

Despite such a shortcoming, literary Chinese has been exerting a tenacious influence on the Chinese, especially the lettered segment of the population. It is literary Chinese that has kept China's classics alive and perpetuated the many pithy dicta of wisdom unsurpassed in the living language of the Chinese people despite dialectal barriers of any kind. Although the written national language has been gaining wider and wider acceptance, the great majority of government and commercial organizations are still using literary Chinese in the transaction of their business.

IX. LANGUAGE REFORMS

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185 Attempts to introduce language reforms in China began on a nationwide basis with the movement to unify the national language shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911. The movement was followed closely by efforts to reform the written language. Those who advocated such reforms were of the opinion that since the characters were so complicated and time-consuming for the average person to learn, and since literary Chinese was so unrealistic and impractical, something

had to be done to make the written language of China more effective, so that it could be within the grasp of the average Chinese citizen in a relatively short period of time.

A. Phonetic Symbols

One type of reform advocated the use of phonetic symbols as an aid to the illiterate to learn to read. However, since the sole function of these symbols is phonetic, they are effective when they are used as a guide to correct pronunciation in accordance with the standard of the national language for the purpose of leveling down dialectal differences in pronunciation. They are helpful only to those who have not yet acquired such a knowledge. They cannot possibly add anything to the attempt to make the Chinese language system simpler or more readily accessible to the illiterate masses.

B. Alphabetization

Another type of reform advocated was the alphabetization of Chinese in order to get away from ideographic writing. As a matter of fact, the use of the Roman alphabet for the transcription of sounds of the Chinese language is no novel suggestion. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary to China, began to transcribe the then Mandarin sounds with the Roman alphabet on the basis of the speech sounds of his own native Italian language. Later, other systems of romanization were devised by others to meet the needs of those speaking other

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185 Western languages. The most widely used system among English-speaking peoples is the so-called Wade-Giles system, originally devised by Sir Thomas Wade, a member of the British legation in China, and later revised by the British sinologist, Herbert A. Giles. Another system in current use in this country is devised by the linguists at Yale University, and it is known as the Yale System.

In 1928 the Chinese Ministry of Education adopted a system of romanization known as Gwoyeu Romatzyh or National Language Romanization, devised by a group of Chinese linguists and intellectual leaders such as Dr. Yuen Ren Chao, Dr. Lin Yutang, and others. Its distinguishing feature is that instead of indicating Chinese intonation by means of superior figures or diacritical marks, it spells the different tones of Chinese words with different letters: mai (second tone, Wade-Giles mai^{2}) "to bury"; mae (third tone, Wade-Giles mai^{3}) "to buy"; may (fourth tone, Wade-Giles mai^{4}) "to sell."

Between 1929 and 1931 another system of romanization known as Latinxua was devised ma mainly by Professor A. A. Dragunov, a linguist of Leningrad, primarily for teaching the Chinese workers in the USSR to read. It has been very popular, for obvious reasons, with the Chinese Communists, who have been doing all they can to promote it and popularize it. However, since the system makes no attempt, except in an ad hoc manner, to distinguish tones in Chinese, it is not only in-

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185 adequate and unsatisfactory, but often misleading.

C. Simplified Characters

Yet another type of proposal advocated the simplification of Chinese characters, especially the more complicated ones in common use, by reducing the number of their strokes. Advocates of this proposal believed that a simplified system of writing would make the whole process of learning to read and write Chinese much easier and less time-consuming. For example, ts'ai "then" has been reduced to look like 才, and 鐵 t'ieh "iron," to look like 铁. If a satisfactory principle of simplification that is philologically sound can be worked out, so that the simplified characters, if necessary, can be identified with the origina characters, the adoption of such a system amy turn out to be a boon to China's millions of illiterate people in their effort to become literate.

D. Basic Chinese

A fourth type of proposal advocated the reduction of the number of characters to be meant for general use in order to simplify the written language. For example, the series of textbooks for teaching the illiterate compiled by Dr. Yen Yang-ch'u, leader of the Mass Education Movement, who is better known abroad as James Y. C. Yen, represents an effort made in this direction. On the basis of some 1,200 characters chosen by him in

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185 terms of their frequency, he compiled texts that he believed would enable China's illiterate people to meet their basic needs in expression. As another effort made more or less in the same direction, we may mention the list of characters chosen by Hung Shen, the famous dramatist. In 1935 he published his Method of Teaching and Using 1,000 Basic Chinese Characters. Instead of basing his choice of characters on frequency and limiting their usefulness and expressiveness to the rudimentary plane, he chose them on the criteria of their flexibility in forming compounds with other characters and their adequacy for general use in everyday situations.

X. DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

The Chinese Communists have been cautious in their efforts to reform the Chinese language. They frequently quote Stalin, that the language of a people cannot be artifically changed and that the evolution of any language has to follow a natural course.[1] However, to combat illiteracy the Communists also see the immediate need of simplifying the Chinese written language. In this regard the government policy is based on Mao Tse-tung's statement in his On New Democracy that, "under certain conditions, the written language of China must be reformed."[2]

1. See quotation, discussion in Ts'ao Po-han Yü-wen Wen-t'i P'ing-lun Chi [Critical Essays on the Language Problem], Shanghai, Tung-fang shu-tien, 1954, p. 95.

2. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952, p. 680.

212 Envisaged as an ultimate goal of language reform is
185 the complete Latinization of the Chinese written language. In other words the characters will be replaced by the Latin alphabet. Communist promoters of Latinization often cite Lenin's pronouncement that, "Latinization is the great revolution of the East,"[3] to substantiate their argument.

192 The Communists are trying to cultivate
185 a politically conscious proletariat in China; China's spoken language, as reflected in songs, plays and speeches, is becoming more proletarian and drifting away from the set phrases and expressions traditionally used by the intellectual class. Extensive use of professional jargon and local expressions is the vogue of the day. Political and scientific terms, particularly those of Russian origin, are apparently on the lips of every Chinese who has had Communist indoctrination.
191 It must be noted that the Communists, in adopting
185 many new terms heretofore unfamiliar to the average Chinese, are aware of the danger of corrupting their language. The People's Daily (the Pravda of China), in an editorial on June 6, 1951, urged the use of correct Chinese and stressed the need for the study of grammar so that " the Chinese language will not become corrupt and impure."[4]

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3. John de Francis, Nationalism and Language Reform in China, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 90.

4. Quoted in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, March 1955, p. 28.

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As to the movement to eradicate illiteracy, the current trend is to promote accelerated methods of language teaching and to standardize the simplified characters already in use. One of the most publicized methods to accelerate language learning was introduced in 1948 by Ch'i Chien-hua, a cultural cadre attached to the armed forces. Ch'i champions the use of the "National Phonetic Symbols" (not to be confused with the Gwoyeu Romatzyh discussed earlier in this chapter) as the "walking stick" for new learners. The phonetic symbols are employed as a pronunciation aid to the students. This method was said to be so successful that the Communist government in May 1952 recognized Ch'i's contribution by inviting him to the capital and awarding him a citation.[5]

Simplification of written characters has received official blessing. When the Committee on the Study of Language Reform under the Ministry of Education compiled 798 such simplified characters and recommended that they be adopted, the recommendation was given immediate attention. On May 1, 1955 the Committee announced that 57 of the simplified characters would be adopted by six national periodicals for experimental purposes.[6] On October 15 1955, an All-China Conference on Language Reform was called by the committee to revise and enlarge the proposed list of simplified characters.[7]

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5. People's Education, May 1952. p. 4.
6. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, May 2, 1955, p. 1.
7. Min-chu P'ing-lun [The Democratic Review], Hong Kong. Nov. 1, 1955, p. 577.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 15 East China
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185 The Latinization movement., although without much official promotion, is by no means dead. There are publications printed in this new form of Chinese. One ardent supporter of this movement, Ni Hai-shu, claimed that in 1949 there were over 300 such publications with a total circulation of about 500 000, already on the market.[8] In February 1952. there was evidence to show that active support of this movement was discernible in East China.[9]

There are other recent developments in language reform. One is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation marks On October 5, 1951. the Government Administration Council issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.[10] Since that time the general trend has been toward standardization.

Another development in language reform is the practice of writing Chinese horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Communist government is the first regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions on such a practice, national publications like the Enlightenment Daily and New China Monthly, since January 1, 1955, have been printing their texts horizontally.

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8. Ni Hai-shu Chung-kuo Yü-wen Ti Hsin-sheng [The Rebirth of the Chinese Language], Shanghai, Shih-tai shu-pao ch'u-pan-she 1949, pp. 458-59; also see John de Francis, op. cit., pp. 131-34.

9. Hsin-wen-tzu Pan-yüeh-k'an [New Language Semimonthly], Shanghai. February 16, 1952, p. 28.

10. Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], 1952, Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p. 437. [p. 136]

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185 As to the languages of minority nationality groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must first be given their own languages; then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably). In East China, minority nationality groups are more scattered than those in Central-South and Southwest China; there has been no report on Communist attempts to reform the minority languages in this region.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

191 Before 1949, the use of foreign languages, mainly English, was noticed in a few large port cities in East China such as Shanghai, Tsingtao, and Amoy. Contact with English-speaking people in such cities and inclusion of English in school curricula accounted for the popularity of English. However, with the exception of a few foreign missionary schools in which English was emphasized and taught by native speakers, instruction in English in the schools did not amount to much. This was true even of the colleges of the region. Although some college students could manage to read a publication in English with reasonable ease they could hardly converse in it. Generally speaking, it may be safely assumed that about one-tenth of the secondary school graduates and possibly one-third of the college graduates could read English, although not without some difficulty. The over-all percentage of those who could speak it would be even smaller.

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Reports on the results of the 1952 investigations of Marriage Law implementation were framed in equally incomparable area and time categories. One report covering northern Kiangsu during the first half of 1952 noted that the number of arranged engagements during the period totaled 39,911 or nearly three times the number of engagements "founded on free love," while 19,894 arranged marriages had taken place, exceeding the number of free marriages by 28 per cent.[28] Another report at about the same time gave a more complete picture for the whole province of Kiangsi from May 1950 to January 1952. In the province during that time, it was reported 121,000 free marriages had been arranged with the assistance of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, more than 72,900 divorces had been instituted after the failure of reconciliation attempts, the marriages of 16,454 child brides had been annuled, 40,902 engagements arranged by parents had been terminated, and 33,634 couples had been aided in establishing harmonious homes by the intercession of the People's Government.[29]

D. Reorientation of Family Reform

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Between the time of the publication of these

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28. C.B., 236, p. 14.
29. Ibid., p. 4.

582 divorce figures in March 1952 and the end of
586 the year, the Communist approach to marriage
5% and family reform seems to have undergone a
185 change. There are indications that the regime's emphasis on new freedom for women and the prominent publicity given statistics on divorce had led to the Marriage Law being popularly termed the "Divorce Law."[30] At the same time, resistance in the rural areas to sudden changes in the old institutions of marriage and family relations were becoming evident to Party leaders as the result of the late 1952 investigations were tabulated.

A shift in the pace and in the propaganda emphasis on marriage and family reform was evident in Liu Ching-fan's report to the Government Administrative Council at the end of 1953. Although the better treatment and greater freedom given to woman was not to be neglected, greater emphasis was placed on the establishment of "harmonious" and "democratic" relationships within the family, whether originally of the old or new type, and to the positive benefits that would accrue to all members of the family as a consequence of reform.[31]

185 Analyzing the then current situation, Liu
581 noted that the people still maintained a feudal
5% ideology and consciousness in regard to many

30. China News Analysis, 5, p. 2.
31. C.B., 273, pp. 5-6.

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social problems, and that this attitude in respect to marriage problems was a "more universal and serious one." Liu admitted that the abolition of the feudal marriage system and the establishment of the new system was "a long term and difficult process in the ideological and social reform of the people." To accomplish this reform, he added, the regime would have to co-ordinate its efforts with the people's personal interests and levels of attainment, persuade the people patiently, and raise their level steadily. The process of implementing the Marriage Law, Liu concluded, would have to be made part of the regular tasks of the government and people's organizations at all levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction, and elections.[32] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform.

In the cities where modern influences had prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual references to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the

32. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

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185 long-term nature of family reform. The
581 statement charged that bourgeois ideology had
592 reached into marriage and family relationships. The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage, and devotion to self-interest. They had respectively given rise to the sins of marriage based on money, "the belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[33]

185 The nation's young people were evidently
883 the most prone to this subversive influence. A campaign was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955 to guard youth against "bourgeois concepts." In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors "to place love in a secondary

33. Ibid., 1006, pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

position in one's live" is hardly likely to solve the problem.[34]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[35]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic, and Political Role

A second step taken by the Communist regime to change radically the nature and function of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment

34. Ibid., 1006, pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.
35. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

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every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as soon as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its socio-economic role. This fact seems to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children who might otherwise be free of the constant direct influence of the government. These two groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Federation of Democratic Women and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

Aside from its primary role as a unit for procreation and for child-care until the young reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state

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596 training process. An editorial in the People's
185 Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solicitude" of the goverment toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that trade unions were to help office employees and workers to learn how to educate their children: Teachers and directors of the Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[36]

593 With the Communist regime's emphases on
577 youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents need clarification. An article on the subject in the January 1955 issue of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of...individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries, they should not be respected but treated as enemies;

36. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

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457 668 The Communists did gain a favorable response from a part of the overseas element, but it was apparently not up to Communist needs and expectations, for various experiments and temporary shifts have marked the regime's subsequent policy toward the overseas Chinese and their dependents in China. New efforts to attract their sympathy were initiated in early 1955. Much publicity was given to the reclassification of overseas landlords as "no longer enemies of the state" before the expiration of the five-year probationary period. Buildings expropriated from overseas Chinese for government use were reportedly being returned to their former owners or paid for. The press reiterated the theme that measures were being taken to assure the right to ownership of overseas remittances and their delivery into the proper hands.[56]

D. The Pace of Reform

185 596 In the pace of family reform, the East China Region is probably not as far behind the North and Northeast regions as in other changes instututed by the Communist regime. Although the North and Northeast regions have been longer under Communist control, industrialization and modern city life with their influences for change in family form and function have a longer history in Shanghai than elsewhere in China. The rural

56. See section entitled "Overseas Chinese," in S.C.M.P. during the first six months of 1955; for instance, 1024, pp. 13-15.

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areas in the region uninfluenced by modern trends are at least no more widespread or prevalent than elsewhere in China.

If and as the new regime fulfills its plans for industrialization and the organization of rural areas in co-operatives or collectives, more insistent pressures than mere propaganda will be brought to bear on the traditional family. But even this kind of force will not completely wipe out the old attitudes and loyalties of the elder generation. No such drawbacks characterize the heavily indoctrinated youth of today, more enthusiastic than their parents for the new order, but the urge manifested by many emancipated young people toward individualism and romanticism in love and marriage may pose a problem of equal calibre for the new masters of China

311 Note that the average farm in Fukien is only 10.21 shih-mou (1.7 acres), the smallest in this region; while that in Anhwei is 17.82 shih-mou (about 3 acres), the largest.

II. THE LAND-REFORM PROGRAM OF EAST CHINA

423 In February 1950, the provincial authorities
185 of East China began preparations for the introduction of "Land Reform." In July 1950 work began on propaganda, the mobilization of the masses, the training of cadres, and the carrying out of exper ements in selected districts. In September 1950 and again in November, conferences were held to examine the result accomplished in the experimental areas.[3]

Since the middle of December 1950, the work of land reform had been developed extensively in the "new liberated areas," and the finishing touches had been put on the "old liberated areas." In April 1951, because of intensification of the "spring cultivation campaign," the Land Reform Movement was suspended for a time. After the summer harvest, the holiday period of the peasants was utilized for the resumption of the "reform" campaign. By the end of September 1951, in both new and old "liberated areas,"

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3. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily] Shanghai, November 29, 1951.

423 comprising in all 37,865 hsiang villages, the
185 redistribution of land was carried out.[4] In 17,903 of these hsiang, according to the official report, new title deeds were issued by November 1951. In the remaining areas comprising 5,403 villages, land redistribution was carried out during the winter of 1951 and the spring of 1952.[5]

As a result of land reform in East China, membership in peasant associations throughout the region increased from a little over 10,000,000 before the "reform" to 33,900,000 members, including 2,900,000 members of the "people's militia" and 15,000,000 members of the Women's Federation.[6]

During the Land Reform Movement in Fukien, some degree of preferential treatment seemed to have been given to families which had members overseas. According to a report, "During the 'Land Reform' Movement, the Fukien People's Government carried out faithfully the policy relating to the disposal of land and other property belonging to Chinese overseas. As a result, land and other values, such as production materials, had been distributed to the majority of overseas Chinese families, so that their difficulties were solved and they were enabled to participate in active production. Rich peasants, industrialists, and merchants, and also 'landlords' among the overseas Chinese, had their interests taken care of, and all were satisfied."[7]

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4. Liu Jui-lung "Hua-tung Ch'ü T'u-kai Pao-kao" ["Report on Agrarian Reform of East China"] Shanghai, [Liberation Daily,] Nov. 29, 1951.

5. Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1953, p. 149.

6. Liberation Daily, Shanghai, Nov.29, 1951. [7 see next page.]

423 Of the total 196 farm families in Hsieh-t'ang
185 Ts'un of Fu-ch'ing Hsien, 70 households, or 35 per cent, were overseas Chinese families. The latter's population was 376, or 45.3 per cent of the total population 830. A comparison of their landholding after re-distribution with that held previous to Land Reform is shown in Table 2.

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7. Ta-kung Pao Ta-kung Daily, Hong Kong, December 29, 1951.

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Table 2. Land Holdings of Overseas Chinese Families Before and After "Land Reform" in Hsieh-t'ang Ts'un, Fukien

Unit: S shih-mou
A = Acres

Peasants	No. of Farm Households	Farm Population	Total Land Holdings Before "Land Reform"	Total Land Holdings After "Land Reform"	Percentage of Increase in Land Holdings after "Land Reform"
"Farm Laborers"	5	17	1.4 S (0.23A)	20.6 S (3.43A)	1,371
"Poor Peasants"	11	83	40.5 S (6.75A)	97.2 S (16.20A)	115
"Middle Peasants"	49	255	217.4 S (36.23A)	308.2 S (51.37A)	42
"Rich Peasants"	5	21	21.75 S (3.62A)	21.7 S (3.62 A)	no change
Total	70	376	281.1 S (46.83A)	447.7 S (74.62A)	

*/ Ta-kung Daily, Hong Kong, December 29, 1951.

423 According to the above table, five of the over-
185 seas Chinese farm households belonging to the hired-hand class were given a total of 20.6 shih-mou owned before land reform, representing a thirteenfold increase. The eleven "poor peasants" and forty-nine "middle peasants" households increased their land holdings by 115 and 42 per cent respectively as a result of land reform. Even the remaining five overseas Chinese households belonging to the "rich peasants" class were allowed to retain their original lands without requisition. It showed clearly that over 94.4 per cent of the overseas Chinese rural population in the village were benefited by land reform directly, while the remaining 6 per cent were given special consideration to retain all their lands. Similar conditions were reported in other areas of the provinces with large communities of overseas Chinese.[8]

But the methods applied in other rural areas of the region without overseas Chinese elements were totally different. In most cases violence and mob hysteria were engendered at the mass "accusation" and "anti-despot" meetings and trials. It was reported that thousands of landlords were killed or sentenced to prison terms. Others were detained to be "reformed through labor" over a period of five years. It has been estimated that in East China the Communist confiscated 1.6 million farm buildings, about 159.9 million shih mou (26.65 million acres) of land, 2 million heads of draft-animals, 319.8 million shih tan (17.59 million tons) of grain, 15.99 million pieces of farm tools, and 1.6 million

8. Ibid.

423 farm buildings and sheds. [9]
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Land reform in East China was practically completed in the beginning of 1952. Its progress is shown below:

Table 3. Progress of Land Reform by Rural Population. */

Period	Rural Population
Before Spring 1950	45,000,000
Spring 1950-Summer 1951	60,000,000
Summer 1951-Spring 1952	17,500,000
Total	122,500,000

*/ People's Handbook, published by Ta-kung Daily, Tientsin, 1953.

After land reform, 60 to 70 per cent of the rural population in East China were benefited, especially the "farm laborers" and "poor peasants" who were given an average of 1.5 to 2 shih-mou of land each. In some cases, the individual portion exceeded 3 shih-mou (1/2 acre) each; and even in more densely populated areas the per capita share dropped to 1 shih-mou (1/6 acre). [10]

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9. Liberation Daily, Shanghai, April 23, 1950; People's Daily, Peking, July 7, 1952; Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], Hong Kong, March 9, 1953, No. 10, p. 12.

10. Ta-kung Daily, Hong Kong, Dec. 29, 1951.

III. COLLECTIVIZATION IN EAST CHINA

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185 The number of agricultural producers' co-operatives in Communist China was 400,000 at the end of 1954, but it had been increased to 670,00 by the time of the "spring plowing" of 1955, as reported by Li Fu-ch'un, Vice-Premier of the People's Republic of China.[11] The information concerning the regional development of the agricultural producers' co-operatives was not available. If we calculate according to the percentage of rural population, East China should have developed, approximately, 187,600 units[12] by the spring of 1955, with a membership of 4,200,000 farm households, representing 15 per cent of the total households of the region. It was reported that the speed of development was too rapid for the peasants to follow, and most of the cadres were lacking in serious study of the wo and became blindly optimistic and impatient. Some peasants were forced into "co-operativization" and afterwards withdrew from it.[13] Therefore, the training of competent cadres to direct the work seems to be the key to success of the whole movement. Special attention is given to education in the Party line in rural districts.[14]

Regarding the state-owned and state-operated farms in East China, the Communists claim that

11. NCNA, Peking, July 11, 1955.

12. East China's rural population is about 28 per cent of that of the whole country.

13. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, July 28, 1955, Vol. XIX, No. 4, p. 104.

14. Ibid.

474 the progress made since 1950 is considerable.
185 As of 1952, there were 718 different types of state farms in the region, including 6 large-sized mechanized farms, 347 middle-sized "district farms," and 371 hsien and municipal farms.[15] According to the Communist directives, the development of hsien farms has recently been greatly encouraged. At present (1955), there is at least one state farm in each hsien and the number of large-sized state farms must have been increased

The data on the six large state farms of East China are tabulated below.

15. Kung-fei T'u-kai Pen-chih Chi Ch'i Yen-pien [The Nature and Development of Communist Land Reform] Sixth Section of the Central Reform Committee of the Kuomintang, Taipei, 1952, p. 31.

Table 4. The Leading State Farms of East China, 1952*/

Name of Farm	Location	Area Shih-mou	Area (Acres)	Description
Kuang-pei State Farm	Shantung	-	-	Largest of the region and mechanized
Tung--hsin State Farm	Northern Kiangsu	16,000	(2,667)	Mechanized and best-managed
P'ang-shan-hu State Farm	Southern Kiangsu	9,307	(1,551)	With fertile lands
Lien-hu State Farm	-	-	-	Has electrical irrigation system
Huang-t'ien State Farm	Hangchow	8,000	(1,333)	Mechanized and best in Chekiang
Lai-wu-hsien State Farm	Shantung	-	-	Best-managed; received award from the Ministry of Agriculture

*/ Kung-fei T'u-kai Pen-chih Chi Ch'i Yen-pien [The Nature and Development of the Communist Land Reform], Taipei, Sixth Section of Central Reformatory Committee of the Kuomintang, 1952, p. 60.

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474 In order to push the collectivization movement
185 more effectively, the Communists made much use of propaganda claiming the superiority of the co-operative type of farming over that of individual farming. Table 5[1] below shows the production results of these methods of farming.

[1] [Table 5 is missing. -- Analyst]

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IX. THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND CHINESE LABOR

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The Chinese Communists began their first Five-Year Plan in 1953. According to the plan,[56] China's industrial output is to double in value by 1957. Lai Jo-yü, chairman of All-China Federation of Trade Unions, in a speech delivered on July 21, 1955 to the National People's Congress, said, "The enthusiasm and creative spirit of the working masses are the most important guarantees to the realization of the Five-Year Plan. Labor emulation is the concentrated expression of labor enthusiasm and creative spirit of the working masses as well as the basic method of socialist construction."[57] Lai's speech indicated that "labor emulation," as the Communists have termed it, will help to increase production, but it is certain to put a still heavier burden on the shoulders of the Chinese workers.

In the first Five-Year Plan, the Communists scheduled no heavy industrial projects for the East China Region. Apart from the Huai-nan coal mines and the Ma-an-shan iron mines in Anhwei Province, the regime was unwilling to invest added capital in enterprises in this region. But as the center of light industry

56. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, July 14, 1955, p. 42.

57. Ta-kung Daily, Tientsin, July 22, 1955, p. 3.

185 433 in China, Shanghai was to play an important part in the plan, especially as a training center for skilled labor.

Early in 1953, in response to the call of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions for "labor emulation," more than two hundred state enterprises in Shanghai announced their production plans for the year. The Shanghai Electric Appliance Plant had sets its 1953 production goal 46 per cent above the 1952 record for production. The 1953 production plans of over 50 textile mills in East China showed an increase over 1952 records.[58] In 1954, the total value of production in 73 light industries in Shanghai surpassed the 1953 production by an average of 19.46 per cent.[59] A machine-tool factory in Tsinan, Shantung Province, completed its quota for 1953 some 52 days ahead of schedule.[60] In 1954, workers in local industries in Chekiang Province developed a "technical renovation campaign," increasing labor productivity by 20 per cent.[61] These sporadic reports indicate how the "labor emulation" drive in East China has accelerated since the start of the Five-Year Plan. But enthusiasm alone cannot teach a worker to handle a machine or obtain for him a new one. It is of greater importance to raise the technical level of the workers and to train skilled labor. This task has been assigned to the industries of Shanghai under the first Five-Year Plan.

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58. People's China, Feb.1,1953,p.34.
59. Ibid., Feb. 15, 1954, p. 26.
60. Ibid., Dec. 16, 1953, p. 35.
61. NCNA, Hanchow, Jan. 9, 1955.